A

COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO,

BY JAMES THE FIRST,

KING OF ENGLAND.

WITH NOTES & ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY CHARLES BECKINGTON.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

1843.

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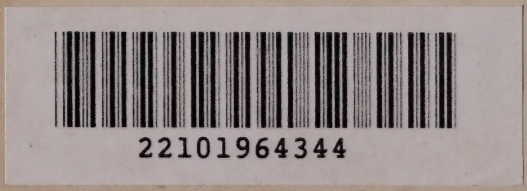

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NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

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PREFACE.

In this age of curiosity, when whatever seems to throw light upon the history, literature, or manners of our country in ancient times, is anxiously sought after, the publication of the following tractate, the production of James the First, may be acceptable to the public. It was first printed in quarto, without name or date, by Barker and Bill, London (1616). In the frontispiece was engraved the Tobacco smoker's coat of arms, consisting of a blackamoor's head, cross pipes, cross leg bones, death heads, &c., curiously and scientifically disposed, as a warning to *Tobacconists*. In 1672, it was again published *(inter alia)* under the following title-page: "Two Broadsides against Tobacco; the first given by K. James, of famous memory, his Counterblast to Tobacco;

the second transcribed out of that learned Physician, Doctor Everard Maynwaring's Treatise on the Scurvy. To which is added, Serious Cautions against Excess in Drinking, &c., with a short Collection out of Doctor George Thompson's Treatise on Blood, against Smoking and Drinking, with two Poems against Tobacco and Coffee. Printed and published as very proper for this age, London, 1672." An impression of the latter work is preserved in the Library of the British Museum; and for the following reprint the editor is indebted to that source. For the notes and other illustrations of the volume, he is himself responsible; and although his labours may not be appreciated, and his pains in preparing this edition for the press may go unrewarded, he will yet have the satisfaction of having rescued from oblivion the genuine work of a genius—a king of England—and one of the most illustrious characters of his age.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON THE

PRIMITIVE USE OF TOBACCO IN ENGLAND.

In order to form a just estimation of the character and dispositions of any particular people, it is necessary to investigate their domestic customs, and to follow them into their retirements, where no disguise is necessary. Such, in part, is the province of this Introduction, which is intended to illustrate a certain portion of our English history—the estimation in which Tobacco-smoking was held by King James the First, and the forms in which the usage appeared when the following "Counterblast" was discharged against it.

Smoking was the first mode of taking Tobacco in England; and we learn from the comic writers towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, that "to wear a pair of velvet breeches, with panes or slashes of silk, an enormous starched ruff, a gilded handled sword, and a Spanish dagger, to play at cards or dice in the chamber of the groom-porter, and to smoke tobacco in the tilt-yard, or at the play-house, were then the grand characteristics of a man of

fashion and spirit." It is well known that Sir Walter Raleigh was the first to set the practice of smoking; and there is a tradition, that in order to escape observation, he began to smoke privately in his dwelling at Islington, the remains of which were till lately to be seen as an inn, long known as the *Pied Bull*. This house was the first in England in which Tobacco was smoked, and Raleigh had his arms emblazoned there with a Tobacco plant upon the top. If we may credit what the author of the Biographia Britannica assures us to be a fact, during one of these pleasing reveries under the soothing influence of the pipe, the servant, whose duty it was to attend Raleigh with his tankard of ale, happened to come as he was intent upon his book. Seeing the smoke issue from his mouth, and believing he was actually on fire, the artless fellow threw upon him the contents of the tankard, and by his cries aroused the family to his assistance with buckets of water. Fortunately for the knight, however, the deposit had extinguished the pipe, and the latter expedients were not required.

In communicating the art to his friends, Sir Walter was in the habit of giving entertainments at his house, where his guests were usually treated with pipes of Tobacco, a mug of ale, and a nut-meg—a somewhat curious origin of smoking parties or divans in England. The celebrated Tobacco-box of Sir Walter was made use of on these occasions: it was of a cylindrical form, about seven inches in diameter, and 13 inches high; the outside was of gilded leather, and within was a receiver of glass or metal, which would hold about a pound of Tobacco; a kind of collar connected the receiver with the case, and on every side the box was pierced with holes for the

pipes. This relique was preserved in the museum of Mr. Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, in 1719, and was only recently added by his late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to that prince's collection of the *Smoking Utensils of all Nations.*

Malcolm has preserved a tradition which existed in the parish of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London, that Raleigh was accustomed to sit smoking at his door, in company with Sir Hugh Middleton. "The custom was probably promoted," adds Malcolm, "through the public manner in which it was exhibited, and the aromatic flavour inhaled by the passengers, exclusive of the singularity of the circumstance, and the eminence of the parties. Indeed the two last motives," he continues, "are alone adequate to establish a custom ten times more loathsome than King James describes Tobacco to be." The example of men so celebrated and popular was soon imitated by Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her strong and powerful mind, possessed the sex's natural vanity and love of novelty, and would seem very warmly to have patronized the custom even in her own person.*—*(Quarterly Journal of Agriculture.)*

* A claimant for the honour of being *the first female smoker in England*, appears in the person of Mary Frith, or, as she was generally called Moll *Cutpurse*. This extraordinary being lived near Fleet Street Conduit, which she made to run with wine on the return of Charles I. from Scotland in 1638. In the civil war, when the women and maids of every parish went rank and file, with mattocks, shovels, and buckets, to work at the fortifications round the city of London, Moll was their superintendant. She was a participator in most of the crimes and wild frolics of her time, and kept up a regular correspondence with the thieves. Upon a sentence in the Court of Arches, she did penance at St. Paul's Cross for wearing indecent apparel. She robbed the celebrated General Fairfax on Hounslow Heath, and was one of the women barbers of Drury-

"Queen Bess, she was a noble queen a,
"And a brave merry lass I ween a,
"She often smoked, would I had seen her,
Tobacco.

"Oh, these were golden times and blest,
"When she was every where confest
"To be the belle who smoked the best
Tobacco.

(Old Song.)

"It soon became of such vogue at her court, that some of the great ladies,* as well as noblemen therein, would not scruple to blow a pipe sociably."—*(Biog. Brit.)* Elizabeth herself smoked in concert with Sir Walter Raleigh, and it would seem that the vapour of the pipe did not cast a cloud over the brilliant wit of either. Conversing with his royal mistress upon the singular properties of this new and extraordinary herb, Raleigh assured her that he could ascertain the exact

Lane. When she found death had ordered her to lay by her pipe and pot, she bequeathed the greater part of her property to her nephew, with an order that he should not lay it out foolishly, but get drunk with it while it lasted. She died in 1662, aged 73 years. Upon due examination, it appears that at the death of Elizabeth, Cutpurse had only attained her 14th year; and as the practice of fuming Tobacco was in vogue by the British fair at Elizabeth's court, no one is certainly better entitled than the queen herself to the premiership awarded to Frith by her numerous admirers. In the reign of James I., however, notwithstanding that king's Counterblast, Moll may have SUPERINTENDED the practice, and thereby acquired her reputation for holding the pipe between "the parted coral of her lips."

* The patronage of the ladies did not extend to Acton. It is recorded that Raleigh, being upon a stand at Sir Robert Poyntz's Park, "took a pipe of Tobacco, which made the ladies quit it till he had done."

weight of the smoke exuding from any quantity proposed to be consumed. Her majesty, regarding the impracticability of the perfumed vapour being confined in a balance, yet not without suspecting that he was playing the traveller with her, laid a handsome wager for the proof of his proposal. Upon this he selected the quantity agreed upon, and, having thoroughly smoked it, set himself to weighing of the ashes, and, in conclusion, demonstrated to the queen that the difference between them and the original weight of the Tobacco gave the solution required. Elizabeth paid down the money, telling Sir Walter that she had heard of many labourers in the fire who had turned their gold into smoke; but he was probably the first adventurer who had turned smoke into gold.—*(Apophthegms of the English Nation, MSS.)*

After Raleigh had lost the countenance and favour of his queen,—in consequence of the excess to which the fashion of smoking was carried, "the bodies of Englishmen (as one wittily said), who are so highly delighted with the Plant, seem to have degenerated into the nature of barbarians, seeing that they delighted with the same thing which the barbarians use, and think they can be cured by it."* Elizabeth, ostensibly upon that account, published an edict against it. Little opposition, however, was offered to the practice, and the edict itself was probably withdrawn upon the restoration of Raleigh to the royal favour.

* Camden thus states this fact:—"Anglorum corpora in barbarorum naturam degenerasse, quam iidem ac barbari delectentur."—Annales Rer. Anglica, p. 415.—1625.

It appears that the plant was used against crudities.

It appears from a note in the Criminal Trials, vol. 1, p. 361, that in 1600, the French ambassador, in his despatches, represented the peers on the trial of the earls of Essex and Southampton as smoking Tobacco copiously, while they deliberated on their verdict. Sir Walter Raleigh, too, was accused of having sat with his pipe at the window of the Armoury, while he looked on at the execution of Essex, in the Tower, and of puffing out Tobacco in disdain of him. But Sir Walter, whilst on the scaffold for his own execution, said, in defence of this, "I take God to witness that my lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death, for I had retired far off into the Armoury, where I indeed saw him and shed tears for him." The first story also is most probably untrue. Another accusation went to charge Raleigh with sending a parcel of Tobacco to Lord Cobham. At length, indeed, such became the extreme and almost unaccountable popular aversion to this great man, that as he travelled to Winchester to stand his trial there, he was followed by the execrations of the people through London and other places, and TOBACCO PIPES, stones, and mud were thrown into his coach. Raleigh had his pipe every morning with his breakfast; and even on the morning of his death, he smoked his KEMBLE PIPE,* which, said a writer of that day, "some formal persons were

* The explanation of the Kemble pipe is thus given by Bugslin, in his edition of Walton and Cotton's Angler, 1808:—"In the cruel persecutions under that merciless bigot Queen Mary, a man of the name of Kemble being condemned for heresy, in his walk of some miles from the prison to the stake, amidst a crowd of weeping friends, SMOKED A PIPE OF TOBACCO." In Herefordshire, the county of his death, to signify the last or concluding pipe that any one intends to smoke at a sitting, the term A KEMBLE PIPE is used to the present day.

scandalized at; but I think," he adds, "'twas well and properly done to settle his spirits." On being asked if it pleased him, "Aye," said Raleigh, "'tis indeed good if a man might tarry by it."

From imitation of their superiors, and a favourable opinion of its salutary qualities, Raleigh's fragrant herb, which was "wont to be taken by gentlemen and gallants, was now made the companion of every tapster and housekeeper." Although sold at a high rate, sailors, from the captain to the ship-boy, all affected to smoke, as if the practice was necessary to their character, and to "take Tobacco," and wear a silver whistle like a modern boatswain's mate, was the pride of a man of war's man. The quid, one of the three indispensables of a modern midshipman,* does not appear to have been chewed by either seamen or landmen, for we read in *Hymnus Tabaci* (1625):—

"Some secret power lies
In this rare plant hid from our outward eyes.
Trust not the green juice then into your maw;
Eat not the leaf, there's danger in it raw.
Phœbus shall cook it for you, so you may
Take wholesome draughts, purged by his scorching ray.
For sure kind nature, if we may be bold
So far her cabinet councils to unfold,
Invented it a banquet for the brain,
Not for the belly."

Poets, players, play-wrights, and musicians were especially addicted to smoking; and a writer of that age,

* "You must learn to chew Backy, drink grog, and call the cat a beggar, and then you know all a midshipman is expected to know now-a-days."—*Peter Simple, chap.* 2.

supposed to be Milton's father, describes many of the ordinary play-books, pamphlets, and such like, as being conceived over night by idle brains impregnated with Tobacco smoke and mulled sack, and brought forth by the help and midwifery of a caudle next morning.—*(A sixe-fold Politician, with a sixe-fold Precept of Policy, by J. M., 8vo., 1609, p. 35.)*

At the theatres (in Shakespeare's time) the spectators were allowed to sit on the stage during the performances, and to be attended by pages, who furnished them with Pipes and Tobacco, which they smoked there as well as in other parts of the house.—*(Malone's History of the English Stage, 1598.)* Hence we read—

> "See you him yonder who sits on the stage,
> With his TOBACCO-PIPE now at his mouth."
>
> SKIALETHIA, a Collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598.

Such was the fondness of the times for dramatic entertainments, that not fewer than 19 play-houses had been opened in London before the year 1633. The expenses of these amusements varied according to the quality of the visitors. Simple admission into the theatre might be obtained for 2d., 3d., and 4d.; and the expenses of the evening, including coach hire, boat hire, *Tobacco, wine, and beer*, (the usual concomitants of the place, as now at Saddler's Wells) have been calculated at from 1s. to 5s.—*(Prynn's Histriomastrix, 1633.)* For 6d. the gallant was admitted to a *room* or upon the *stage;* and, for the like money, a stool was allowed him in either place.—*(Gull's Hornbook.)* The stage was considered a post of honor, and was usually resorted to

by the fop and coxcomb for a convenient display of their sweet persons. Decker has ludicrously described the advantages of the gallant in thus sitting upon the stage. Not only is he thus better enabled to "*get his match lighted*," &c., but a more weighty reason is, that, "as your stinkard has the self same liberty to be there in his *Tobacco fumes* which your sweet courtier hath, * * it is fit that he whom the most tailors' bills do make room for when he comes, should not be basely (like a viol) cased up in a corner." An ancient satirical piece called the *Black Book*, London, 1604, 4to, leaves a legacy to one whom it calls "*Arch Tobacco taker* of England in ordinaries upon stages both common and private;" and no doubt a degree of reputation, a name, and fame, was sometimes conferred upon parties. Indeed, so much, we think, may be collected from the following lines, of seeming individual application :—

> "When young Roger goes to see a play,
> His pleasure is you place him on the STAGE,
> The better to demonstrate his array,
> And how he sits attended by his page,
> That only serves to fill those PIPES with smoke
> For which he pawned his riding cloak."
>
> *Springs to catch Woodcocks.*—1598.

Taylor, the Water Poet, in his *Proclamation for Tobacco's Propagation*, strongly protests against the wantonness of the age. "Let playhouses," says he, "drinking schools, taverns, &c., be continually haunted with the contaminous vapours of it; nay (if it be possible) bring it into the churches,* and there choak up the

* This was really the case at Cambridge, whither James I. sent a letter in 1607, against taking Tobacco in St. Mary's.—*Steevens's Origin of the English Stage.*

preachers." (*Works, p.* 253.) Sir John Davis also has mentioned the practice in a satirical epigram, written in 1598 :—

> "Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not fight ?
> He that dares TAKE TOBACCO ON THE STAGE
> . . . Dares dance in Paul's."

The absurd custom of sitting upon the stage during the performances, formed the subject of a royal proclamation, issued by Queen Anne in 1711 :—"Whereas we are informed that the order we have already given for the reformation of the stage, by not permitting any thing to be acted contrary to religion or good manners, have in great measure had the effect we proposed; and being further desirous to reform all other indecencies and disorders of the stage, our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do strictly command, that no person, of what quality soever, presume to stand behind the scenes, or come upon the stage either before or during the acting of any opera or play; and that no person come into either of our houses for opera or comedy, without paying first the established prices for their respective places," &c. This proclamation would appear to have had the desired effect; for, in 1729, when the managers of Drury Lane Theatre placed a seat on the stage for the accommodation of the Duchess of Queensbury, the audience loudly expressed their dissatisfaction of the circumstance, and the seat was removed. The equally absurd practice of placing two sentinels on the stage, was not discontinued even so late as 1763; for it is mentioned that one of the soldiers, who was then on duty, was fined 12d., having laughed at a player, in the part of Sir Andrew Aguecheek, until he actually fell

convulsed on the boards. But to resume the thread, or, more technically speaking, the *twist* of our historical narrative.

When James ascended the British throne, the extreme use of Tobacco had become a pest to society:

> "The wine grew busie, and betwixt each cup
> (As in a play 'twixt the acts) the pipes struck up."

As a luxury, the practice appears to have gained its climax about 1610. "Every where," says Hentzner, "the English are constantly smoking of Tobacco, and in this manner they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the furthest end of which they put the herb so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their *nostrils*, like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and deflux of the head." Camden furnishes a similar description of its general use as follows:—"Many persons every where, some through wantonness *(lascivientes)*, and others for the sake of health, with inexpressible greediness sucked in through an earthen pipe its excessively stinking smoke *(grave-olentum illius fumum)*, which they afterwards blew out through their *nostrils*." This manner of taking Tobacco, by partially swallowing the smoke and blowing it out at the nostrils, was known at the period now under review as *Tobacco drinking;* and it is probable that this term was also applied to the practice of smoking and swallowing the saliva, which habit enables many to do with impunity, as well as in more ancient times to the swallowing of the smoke itself, as Monardes tells us, "The Indian priests *drink* the Tobacco fumes, with the vigour and strength of which they fall suddenly to the

ground as dead men, remaining so according to the quantity of smoke that they had taken." In *A Work for Chimney Sweepers*, 1602, the practice of drinking Tobacco is also mentioned:—"And in these our days, many excellent physicians, and men of singular learning and practice, do, by their daily account and custom in *drinking* of Tobacco, give credit and authority to the same." A reference is again made to the custom by Ben Jonson:—"By this air," says he "the most divine Tobacco that ever I *drunk*."—*(Every Man in his Humour.)* In *Hymnus Tabaci* it is also mentioned; and here a definition is given of the term, *drinking Tobacco*, according to the then prevailing practice in England:—

> "Tobacco is not an indifferent thing,
> But to the *drinker* good or ill may bring.
> First try thy body then, and learn to know
> Whether thy *chimney carry smoke* or no."

Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, in his censure of the decline of ancient hospitality, in his Satires, printed in 1597, also refers to it:—

> "Look to the towred chimneys, which should be
> The wind pipes of good hospitality,
> Through which it breatheth to the open air,
> Betokening life and liberal warfare:
> Lo, there the unthankful swallow takes her rest,
> And fills the tunnel with her circled nest;
> Nor half the smoke from all his chimneys goes
> Which one Tobacco pipe drives through his nose."

This mode of smoking, or *drinking Tobacco*, continued in vogue until towards the latter end of the reign of James I., when the Tobacco takers discharged their smoke by a less circuitous route; yet, at the present day,

there are amateurs who occasionally test the flavour of a cigar after the same fashion.

From the following passage in Ben Jonson's Alchemist, first acted in 1610, we gather some curious particulars respecting the business of a Tobacconist* of that period. It occurs in the first act, where Face thus introduces Abel Drugger to Subtle:—

> "This is my friend Abel, an honest fellow;
> He lets me have good Tobacco, and he does not
> Sophisticate it with sack leaves or oil,
> Nor washes it in muscadel and grains,
> Nor bruises it in gravel under ground,
> Wrapped up in greasy leather or pissed clouts,
> But keeps it in fine lily pots, that, opened,
> Smell like conserve of roses or French beans.
> He has his maple block, his silver tongs,
> Winchester pipes, and fire of juniper;—
> A neat, spruce, honest fellow, and no goldsmith."

Before proceeding to explain the different modes of sophistication, and two or three other particulars mentioned by Face relating to the business of a Tobacconist, it seems necessary to premise a few remarks on the form in which Tobacco was imported about that period. The Virginian Tobacco was usually imported in the leaf, tied up in small loose bundles as at present; while a considerable portion of the Spanish Tobacco was imported in the form of what the French term *carottes*, and in balls. The obscene name by which the *carottes* were then known in England is not yet wholly obsolete. Our sailors still call them by their old names; and every person who has visited the West Indies has heard of the facetious reply

* This term was applied to one who used Tobacco, as well as to one who usually sold it.

of a sailor to a captain's wife, who, happening to see him employed about some Tobacco, asked him what he was going to make of it. "*Tenem volo fabricari domina sed vereor ne ex illo coleos faciam.*" Neander, in his *Tabacologia*, 1622, mentions that this kind of Tobacco was also known to the Dutch by the same name. The *carottes*, which were about a cubit long and three inches in diameter, were formed by laying the leaves, previously sauced with molasses or some other *liquid preparation*,* above each other, and then binding them tightly together with packthread. The balls, which were about the size of a man's head, were formed of Tobacco, coarsely spun into a kind of thick twist, not unlike that of modern Varinas. Those writers who were opposed to the custom of smoking, frequently mention the filthy tricks said to have been played by the Spanish slaves, in preparing the Tobacco for the English market. The leaf Tobacco, after it was brought into this country, was frequently sprinkled with the lees of wine, salt water, and other preparations, in order to improve its flavour, or perhaps to increase its weight. In order to prevent it becoming dry, it was frequently kept by dealers wrapped up in sheep's skin or damp cloths; and Tobacco that had become musty was occasionally buried in gravel, in order that it might thus lose its unpleasant odour. When the leaves were used for smoking, they were generally rubbed small; while the *carotte* and ball Tobacco were cut into small pieces on a block with a knife. Abel Drugger's maple block probably served for

* In order to render the use of Tobacco more particularly disgusting to Protestant smokers, it was stated that the black Popish slaves were accustomed to call the filthy stuff with which they slubbered the leaves, "Sauce for Lutheran dogs."

this purpose, when he wished to cut extempore a choice sample for a favourite customer. The lily pots were white jars, similar to those which are frequently brought from Holland. The juniper wood, which, when once lighted, retains its fire long, was probably kept burning in a kind of chafing dish, such as is seen in old Dutch pictures; and the silver tongs were used by the customers to take up a piece of the burning embers to light their pipes with. The art of manufacturing Tobacco into fine threads was not then known. The pipes of that period were shorter and straighter in the stem, and more upright in the bowl, than at present. Those manufactured at Winchester appear to have been in the greatest request. The author of the *Sixe-fold Politician*, speaking of projectors, says, "If you desire to know them further, they are pedling informers of the state, men that have lapped up from the vomit of other men's wits some excrements of court phrases, and thereupon turned factors about the court, and contrive projects and strange devices of Tobacco pipes, Cardas finas, brown paper, French wares, dunghill shreds, and a thousand of the like conceits." When Face commends Abel Drugger as being no goldsmith, he means that he was not accustomed to insure himself against the risk of bad debts by charging an exorbitant price to his customers who dealt with him on credit.—*(A Paper of Tobacco, Tyas*, 1840.*)*

From a passage in an old English book, printed about 1597, we learn that Tobacconists were accustomed to purchase unreadable poems and pamphlets, for the purpose of folding their Tobacco; and, from the following lines, it appears it was usual with them to decorate their papers with a motto:—

"A shop neighbouring neare Iaccho,
When *Young* vends his *old* Tobacco;
'As you like it,' sometimes sealed
With impression since repealed.
As you make it, he will have it,
And in chart and front engrave it."

The rapid increase of smoking, towards the year 1610, induced a proportionate supply of the plant; and in almost every town of the kingdom, Tobacco taverns *(Tabernæ Tabaccanæ)* became as general in that year as wine or beer houses. Barnaby Rych (commonly called Drunken Barnaby), in a pamphlet entitled "The Honesty of the Age," 4to, London, 1614, says, "I have heard it told that of very lately there hath been a catalogue taken of all those new-erected houses that have set up that trade of selling Tobacco in London, and near about London; and if a man may believe what is confidently reported, there are found to be upwards of 7,000 houses that doth live by that trade." A Tobacconist's sign, about this period, was frequently a lighted pipe and a chafing dish; and the sign of the blackamoor smoking, with a roll of Tobacco at his feet, is of equal antiquity.

So early as 1620, the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers in London, which had become a considerable body, was incorporated by royal charter, and bore on a shield a Tobacco plant in full blossom; and it is recorded that, from the multiplicity of pipes in London, the children played with broken ones instead of corals, to make way for their teeth. Smoking had, in fact, become so serious a nuisance, that, for many succeeding years, especial orders were every where issued for the protection of the higher classes generally, and of the ladies in particular.

Spencer, in his *Fairy Queen*, calls the plant "*divine* Tobacco ;* but he probably spoke thus respectfully of it in compliment to his friend and patron, Sir Walter Raleigh. The epithet *divine*, however, was not destined to be permanently attached to the herb; and about the time that the Turkish vizier was thrusting pipes through the noses of smokers, and the Shah of Persia was cropping their ears and snipping their noses, the British king was writing the following book against the same unhappy class of persons. Notwithstanding his violent antipathy, we find it a stipulation in the treaty for Guiana, that one tenth of the Tobacco cultivated there should of right belong to the king *(Harris, vol. i., p. 7)*; and had he been aware that the herb against which he railed would become, in future times, one of the most productive resources of the British revenue, he would probably have left the subject to the town satirists, and to others whom it more immediately concerned.

Several pamphleteers and poets, following the example of the king, now discharged frequent, but ineffectual tirades against the plant. It has been conjectured that the "*juice of cursed hebenon*," by which the king of Denmark is said to be poisoned in Shakspeare's tragedy of Hamlet, was the essential oil of Tobacco. To countenance this, it is supposed by Dr. Gray that the word

* "Into the woods thenceforth in haste she went,
To seek for herbs that might him remedy;
For she of herbs had great intendiment,
Or of the nymph which from her infancy
Her nursed had in true nobility.
There, whether it *divine Tobacco* were,
Or Panachæa or Polygony,
She found and brought it to her patient dear,
Who all the while lay bleeding out his heart's blood near."

hebenon is a mistake of the poet or transcriber for *henebon,* that is, henbane. From Gerarde it appears that Tobacco was commonly called *henbane of Peru (Hyoscyamus Peruvianus);* and it is supposed by an ingenious commentator, that Shakspeare, playing the courtier, introduced the hebenon to accommodate himself to the prejudices of King James; but, unfortunately for this hypothesis, the tragedy of Hamlet, according to Mr. Malone, was written in 1596, *seven years* before the accession of James to the throne of England. It has also been said that it was to please his kingly patron that Joshua Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas' Divine Weeks, and "A demy Captive to his puffing Pride," published his celebrated poem, with the following singular and long-winded title:—"Tobacco battered and the Pipes shattered (about their Ears that idly idolize so base and barbarous a Weed, or at leastwise overlove so loathsome a Vanity) by a Volley of holy Shot from Mount Helicon." But this work was written in 1586, full ten years even before the tragedy of Hamlet. It is possible, however, that the king's antipathy had an effect upon Peter Campbell, a Derbyshire gentleman, who made his will on the 20th October, 1616, from which we extract the following extraordinary clause:—"Now for all such household goods at Derby, whereof John Hosen hath an inventory, my will is that my son Roger shall have them all toward house keeping, on this condition, that if at any time hereafter any of his brothers or sisters shall find him *taking of Tobacco,* that then he or she so finding him, and making just proofs thereof to my executors, shall have the said goods, or the full value thereof according as they shall be appraised, which said goods shall presently after my death be valued and appraised by my executors for that purpose."

It is a curious fact that James is said to have allowed to *absoluta libertas pedendi.** However, as his aversion was adopted by his courtiers, who all pretended a great horror to smoking, the presence chamber would not require fumigation. Until his death in 1625, he continued his opposition to the herb; and even his ordinary conversation was fraught with reasons and invectives against the use of it. From "A Collection of witty Apophthegms, delivered by King James and others, at several Times and on sundry Occasions," published in 12mo, 1671, we extract that "Tobacco is the lively image and pattern of hell, for that it has by allusion in it all the parts and vices of the world, whereby hell may be gained. For, first, it is smoke: so are all the vanities of the world. Secondly, it delighteth them that take it: so do all the pleasures of the world. Thirdly, it maketh men drunken and light in the head: so do all the vanities of this world. Fourthly, he that taketh Tobacco saith he cannot leave it, it doth bewitch him: even so the pleasures of the world make men loth to leave them. And further, besides all this, it is like hell in the very substance of it; for it is a stinking loathsome thing, and so is hell."

The historian Howell relates, that during the time of his majesty's hunts, whenever a fog came on, the king was used to say that the devil was smoking Tobacco; and so greatly was he offended at the common use of it, that he declared, were he "to invite the devil to a banquet, he should have three dishes: first, a pig; second, a poll of ling and mustard; and, third, *a pipe of Tobacco for digestion.*" So convinced his majesty appears to

* The broad English of this privilege is to be found in a small tract on the use of Tobacco, printed at London, 1722.

have been of its *extraordinary medicinal virtues;* but he seems to have forgot that according to an act of his own reign, and perhaps also of his own invention, it was felony either to *raise the devil* or to *feed him when raised!* James doubtless would consider this entertainment as the offscouring of his table; but we really cannot see the necessity of an act which is opposed to hospitality, and which prevents that warmth of reception which an old friend, after travelling so far, will both expect and deserve.

Amongst other weak inventions of the enemy, a slander was passed on the plant by Sir William Vaughan (1613), which is perhaps worthy of a notice in this place. "To conclude the abuses of Tobacco," says he, "I wish the favourites thereof to repeat over these plain rhymes—

> Tobacco, that outlandish weed,
> * * * *
> It dulls the sprite, it dims the sight,
> It robs a woman of her right."
>
> *Directions for Health.*

"The evidence of facts," as the philosophers say, has proved that this opinion is unfounded. After so many years, notwithstanding the use of Tobacco, the population has not decreased; and it would seem that at an early period the like result has been also ascribed to tea, coffee, and chocolate. Raphael Thorius, who refers to this argument, takes a position professedly adverse to that of Vaughan; whilst, at the same time, he concedes to him that—

> "Like hemp or water lilies happily,
> It may the number bate, not utterly
> Destroy the gift of procreation."

And then, as it were, remembering suddenly the cause he had espoused, he continues:—

"What it doth from the number take away,
I' the goodness of the breed it doth repay:
An excellent benefit, where the fortunes mean
Not able numerous offspring to maintain,
Or where the commonwealth rejoiceth more
In the strength and quality than in the store."

Thus, what had been advanced by an opponent of Tobacco, being received with due allowance on account of that motive, was likely to become, in the hands of Thorius, a mighty and a valuable engine for a most important use. But the poet was by far too flattering with his incense; and even the best of its admirers are not desirous to see the plant registered amongst *checks to population*, however desirable it may be, in the opinion of certain philanthropists,—

"To free the world from giddiness, the jolly
Stripling from rage, and the grey head from folly."

We come now lastly to consider what was the effect of the interested and violent opposition which was offered to the use of the plant. Generally speaking, the people paid no attention to the various means which were taken to discountenance the practice; whilst the lovers of the weed laughed at the arguments or the wit, as the case might be, of their opponents, and continued to smoke on "fancy free." The medical profession had already turned their attention to it; and, as one extreme brings on another, it was not long before the general opposition to the herb was succeeded by a belief in its extraordinary medicinal effects. The poets now enhanced, with mighty eloquence, on its virtues; and nothing can be more remarkable than the game of deception which was played with England generally by the admirers of the "golden leaf,"—"the berry tinted Yarico." Raphael Thorius attributes to it manifold virtues; and, with the assistance

of his muse, he vindicates and finds a use even for the poisonous *oil of Tobacco*. The external application of this oil, he says, is—

"Good for young girls who have rough and scabby hands,
On which, as on fen grounds, the water stands:
For, being applied, it smooths and drains them quite,
And renders them even to wonder white.
For the piercing air thro' the secret pores
Shaketh the heart, and having set both doors
Of the stomach ope, from thence wind music plays,
To the hearers' mirth and to the minstrel's ease.
Thus they the laughter of their friends do gain,
And purchase beauty with a little pain."

In the present day, the oil of Tobacco is not commonly used; and it is a circumstance to be deplored, that our customs are not regulated by a better regard for health. It has been conjectured that the humours of the body can only be purged by Tobacco; and a conceit prevailed that the humours which find a vent only in *talkativeness*, and are thus purged at the mouth, are the effects of an excessive indulgence in the use of the plant as a luxury. Such was the opinion of a learned author of 1722, as will appear from the following quaint title of his work. To those ladies, especially, who are said to *void the humours at the mouth*, and who scorn the imputation of "the pipe," the application of the oil will be peculiarly beneficial, and may be recommended with safety.

"Of the Use of Tobacco, Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, and Drams, under the following Heads:—

"1. Of smoking Tobacco.

"2. Of chewing.

"3. Of Snuff.

"4, 5, 6, and 7. Of Coffee, &c.

"Clearly shewing how the stopping of these hot Liquors, sucking into the Body as much of Wind as Liquors, produces Flatulency, which (by being debarred a free passage *downwards)* not only grumble in the

Bowels, and cause Wind, Cholics, Obstructions, Spleen, Vapours, &c., but also (in Women of a more strong Constitution) recoil up to the Head, and vent themselves entirely in *Talkativeness* and other Distempers incident to Women; all which a free Vent of the Wind *downwards* might have prevented.

"This Book is given gratis up one Pair of Stairs, at the Sign of the Anodyne Necklace, without Temple Bar, London, 1722."

An account, published by W. Kemp, most sagely recommends Tobacco as an antidote for every evil under the sun. This writer tells us a third method, in which the *humours* are purged by the use of Tobacco, not by wind, according to the statement of the preceding writer, but by water, viz. salivation; a knotty point, which is ably disputed by King James. *(Count., p.* 10.*)* "The American silver weed, or Tobacco," says Kemp, "is an excellent defence against bad air, being smoked in a pipe either by itself, or with nutmeg shred and rue seeds mixed with it; especially if it be nosed, for it cleanseth the air, and choaketh and suppresseth and disperseth any venomous vapour. It hath both singular and contrary effects: it is good to warm one being cold, and will cool one being hot. All ages, all sexes and constitutions, young and old, men and women, the sanguine, the choleric, the melancholy, the phlegmatic, take it without any manifest inconvenience. It giveth thirst, and yet will make one more able and fit to drink. It chokes hunger, and yet will give one a good stomach. It is agreeable with mirth or sadness, with feasting and with fasting. It will make one rest that wants sleep, and will keep one waking that is drowsy. It hath an offensive smell, and is more desirable than any perfume. That it is a most excellent preservative, both experience and reason teach. It corrects the air by fumigation, and avoids corrupt humours by salivation; for when one

takes it by chewing it in the leaf, or smoking it in the pipe, the *humours* are brought and drawn from all parts of the body to the stomach, and from thence rising up to the mouth *of the* TOBACCONIST, as to the helm of a sublunatory, *are voided and spitted out.*"

Some of the German writers described Tobacco as the holy or Indian healing herb—*Heiligwrmakrant*, or *Indianisch windkrant.* Amongst other ridiculous accounts may be mentioned that of Howell, in his *Letters* (1678), and that of Barton, in his *Anatomie of Melancholy* (1630). The latter says, "Tobacco—divine, rare, superexcellent Tobacco—which goes far beyond all the panaceas, portable gold, and philosopher's stone," and certainly addresses the herb with all the devotion of a true admirer. Yet, let Barton soar his highest Castor, Duranti is still a pinch beyond. Amongst other things which he states to be within the power of the plant, he sings:—

"The herb which borrows Santa Croce's name
Sore eyes relieves, and healeth wounds the same;
Discusses the king's evil, and removes
Cancers and boils; a remedy it proves
For burns and scalds, repels the nauseous itch,
And straight recovers from convulsion fits.
It cleanses, dries, binds up, and maketh warm;
The head ache, tooth ache, cholic, like a charm
It easeth; soon an ancient cough relieves;
And to the reins and milt and stomach gives
Quick riddance from the pain which each endures;
Next the dire wounds of poisoned arrows cures;
All bruises heals; and when the gums are sore,
It makes them sound and healthy as before.
Sleep it procures; our anxious sorrow lays;
And with new flesh the naked bone arrays.
No herb hath greater power to rectify
All the disorders in the heart that lie,
Or in the lungs."

A COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO.

THAT the manifold abuses of this vile custom of Tobacco taking may the better be espied, it is fit that first you enter into consideration both of the first original thereof, and likewise of the reasons of the first entry thereof into this country; for certainly as such customs that have their first institution either from a godly, necessary, or honorable ground, and are first brought in by the means of some worthy, virtuous, and good personage, are ever and most justly holden in good and reverend estimation and account by all wise, virtuous, and temperate spirits, so should it by the contrary justly bring a great disgrace into that sort of customs, which, having their original from base corruption and barbarity, do in like sort make their first entry into a country by an inconsiderate and childish affectation of novelty, as is the true case of the first institu-

tion of Tobacco taking, and of the first entry thereof amongst us—for Tobacco being a common herb, which (though under divers names) grows almost every where, was first found out by some of the barbarous Indians to be a preservative or antidote against the Pox, a filthy disease whereunto these barbarous people are (as all men know) very much subject, what through the uncleanly and adust constitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heat of their climate—so that as from them was first brought into Christendome that most detestable disease, so from them likewise was brought this use of Tobacco, as a stinking and unsavoury antidote for so corrupted and execrable a malady, the stinking fumigation whereof they yet use against that disease, making so one canker or vermin to eat out another.*

* The return of Hernandez de Cortez from Tabasco in 1519, brought with it the *Mal de las Buvas* into Europe. It was this circumstance that served to procure for Tobacco a most sanguine welcome; for the sailors composing the fleet made use of it, after the instructions of the natives, as the only effectual antidote against its ravages. They did not feel their misery, as Oviedo (*Natural Historia de las Indians*, 1526) says, whilst the Tobacco which they smoked affected them; but when the inefficacy of the plant to cure the disease was proved, it sunk at once in the estimation of its worshippers. Indeed, into such obscurity did it fall after the

And now, good countrymen, (I pray you) consider what honor or policy can move us to imitate the barbarous and beastly manners of the wild, godless, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stinking a custom. Shall we that disdain to imitate the manners of our

hopes it had vainly excited, that nearly 30 years elapsed before it obtained any notice worth commemorating; and, according to Monardes, it was used during that time "more to adornate gardens with the fairness thereof, and to give a pleasant sight, than that it was thought to have any marvellous medicinal virtues." At about the end of that period (1549), we find that it regained the eminence it had previously lost, on a surer and better footing, as a soothing and gentle stimulant—it acquired the name and the esteem of a "*Universal Medicine,*" and was again used "more for his virtues than for his fairness." It does not appear, however, that the herb, under its new title, possessed any healing virtue with respect to the *Great Western Evil;* but it is candour to suppose that that virulent disease formed a particular exception. By communicating it to their conquerors in exchange for Tobacco, the Indians have amply revenged their own wrongs; and—

"Should it be questioned (as right well it may)
Whether discovery of AMERICA,
That new-found world, have yielded to our old
More hurt or good, till further answer should
Decide the doubt and quite determine it,
Thus, for the present, might we answer fit:
That thereby we have (rightly understood)
Both given and taken greater hurt than good;
And that on both sides, both for CHRISTIANS
It had been better, and for INDIANS,

neighbour France (having the style of the great Christian kingdom), and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their king being now comparable in largeness of dominion to the greatest emperor of Turkey), shall we, I say, that have been so long civil and wealthy in peace, famous and invincible in war—fortunate in both—we that have been ever able to aid any of our neighbours (but never deafed any of their ears with any of our supplications for assistance)—shall we, I say, without blushing abase ourselves so far as to imitate those beastly Indians, slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy covenant of God? Why

That only good men to their coast had come,
Or that the evil had still staid at home.

* * * * *

For what our people have brought thence to us
Is like the head piece of a POLYPUS,
Wherein is (quoted by sage Plutarch's quill)
A pest'lence great good, and great pest'lence ill.—
Their freight was SLOTH, LUST, AVARICE, and DRINK
(A burden able with the weight to sink
The hughest carrak, yea, those hallowed twelve,
SPAIN'S great Apostles, even to overwhelve).
They carried SLOTH, and brought home scurvy skin;
They carried LUST, and brought home ills within;
They carried AVARICE, and gold they got;
They carried BACCHUS, and Tobacco brought."

Tobacco battered and the Pipes shattered, 1586.

do we not as well imitate them in walking naked, as they do—in preferring glass, feathers, and such toys, to gold and precious stones, as they do—yea, why do we not deny God and adore the devil, as they do?

Now to the corrupted baseness of the first use of this Tobacco doth very well agree the foolish and groundless first entry thereof into this kingdom. It is not so long since the first entry of this abuse amongst us here as this present age cannot yet very well remember both the first author and the form of the first introduction of it against us. It was neither brought in by king, great conqueror, nor learned doctor of physic.

With the report of a great discovery for a conquest, some two or three savage men were brought in, together with this savage custom; but the pity is the poor wild barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custom is still alive, yea, in fresh vigour; so as it seems a miracle to me how a custom, springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by *a father so generally hated*,* should be welcomed upon

* It is not unlikely that the king was induced to write the Counterblast from his dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, the recognized introducer of the practice of smoking. Raleigh, it is to be observed, was not popular with the multitude: they considered him, in the heyday of his prosperity, as a court

so slender a warrant; for if they that first put it in practice here, had remembered for what respect it was used by them from whence it came, I am sure they would have been loth to have taken so far the imputation of that disease upon them, as they did by using the cure thereof; for *Sanis non est opus medico*, and counter poisons are never used but where poison is thought to proceed.

But since it is true that divers customs, slightly grounded and with no better warrant entered in a common wealth, may yet, in the use of them thereafter, prove both necessary and profitable; it is therefore next to be examined if there be not a full sympathy and true proportion between the base ground and foolish entry and the loathsome and hurtful use of this stinking antidote.

I am now therefore heartily to pray you to consider, first, upon what false and erroneous grounds you have first built the general good liking thereof; and, next, what sins toward God, and foolish vanities of the world, you commit in the detestable use of it.

As for those deceitful grounds that have specially moved you to take a great and good

minion, who engrossed too much of Elizabeth's favour; and, towards the end of her reign, they disliked him on account of his enmity to Essex.

conceit thereof, I shall content myself to examine here only four of the principal of them; two founded upon the theory of the deceivable experience of reason, and two of them upon the mistaken practice of general experience.

First, it is thought by you a sure aphorism in the physic, that the brains of all men being naturally cold and wet, all dry and hot things should be good for them, of which nature this suffumigation is, and, therefore, of good use to them.* Of this argument both the proposition and assumption are false, and so the conclusion cannot but be void of itself; for as to the proposition, that because the brains are cold and moist, therefore things that are hot and dry are best for them, it is an inept consequence; for men, being compounded of the four complexions (whose fathers are the four elements) although there be a mixture of them in all the parts of his body, yet must the divers parts of our microcosme, or little world within ourselves, be diversly more inclined, some to one, some to another complexion, ac-

* Perhaps no smoker in the present day would dream to explain his attachment to the pipe after the manner of the proposition mentioned in the king's first argument. That a man should benefit from Tobacco because his brains are cold and moist, the king certainly shews to be an "inept consequence."

cording to the diversity of their uses, whereof these discords a perfect harmony may be made up for the maintainance of the whole body.

The application, then, of a thing of a contrary nature to any of these parts is to interrupt them of their due function, and by consequence hurtful to the health of the whole body; as if a man, because the liver is as the fountain of blood, and as it were an oven to the stomach, would, therefore, apply and wear close upon his liver and stomach a cake of lead, he might, within a very short time (I hope), be sustained very good and cheap at an ordinary, besides the clearing of his conscience from that deadly sin of gluttony; and as if because his full of vital spirits are in perpetual motion, a man would, therefore, lay a heavy pound stone on his breast for staying and holding down that wanton palpitation, I doubt not but his breast would be more bruised with the weight thereof than the heart would be comforted with such a disagreeable and contrarious cure. And even so it is with the brains; for if a man, because the brains are cold and humid, would therefore use, inwardly by smells or outwardly by application, things of hot and dry quality, all the gain that I could make thereof would only be to put him-

self in great forwardness for running mad by over watching himself, the coldness and moisture of our brains being the only ordinary means that procure our sleep and rest. Indeed I do not doubt that when it falls out that any of these, or any part of our body grows to be distempered, and to tend to an extremity beyond the compass of nature's temperate mixture, that in that case cures of contrary qualities, by an intemperate inclination of that part being wisely prepared and discreetly ministered, may be both helpful and necessary for strengthening nature in the expulsion of her enemies, for this is the true definition of all profitable physic. But first those cures ought not to be used but where there is need of them, the contrary whereof is daily practised in this general use of Tobacco, by all sorts and complexions of people.

And next, I deny the minor of this argument, as I have already said, in regard that this Tobacco is not simply of a dry and hot quality, but rather hath a certain venomous faculty, joined with the heat thereof, which makes it have an antipathy against nature, as by the hurtful smell thereof doth well appear; for the nose, being the proper organ and convoy of the sense of smelling to the brains, which are the only fountain of that sense,

doth ever serve us for an infallible witness, whether that odour which we smell be healthful or hurtful to the brain (except when it falls out that the sense itself is corrupted and abused through some infirmity and distemper in the brain); and that the suffumigation thereof cannot have a drying quality, it needs no further probation than that it is a smoke, all smoke and vapour being of itself humid, as drawing near to the nature of air, and easy to be resolved again into water, whereof there needs no other proof but the meteors, which, being bred of nothing else but of the vapours, are exhalations sucked up by the sun from the earth, the sea, and waters; yet are the same smoky vapours turned and transformed into rains, snows, dews, hoar frosts, and such like watery matters; as, by the contrary, the rainy clouds are often transformed and evaporated in blustering winds.

The second argument, grounded on a shew of reason, is, that the filthy smoke, as well through the heat and strength thereof as by a natural force and quality, is able and fit to purge both the head and stomach of rheums and distillations, as experience teacheth, by the spitting and avoiding flegm immediately after the taking of it. But the falsity of this argument may easily appear by my late pre-

ceding descriptions of the meteors;* for even as the smoky vapours, sucked by the sun, and stayed in the lowest and cold region of the air, are there contracted into clouds, and turned into rain and such other watery meteors, so this stinking smoke, being sucked up by the nose and imprisoned in the cold and moist brains, is, by their cold and wet faculty, turned and cast forth again in watery distillations; and so are you made free and purged of nothing but that with which you wilfully burdened yourself; and therefore are you no wiser in taking Tobacco for purging you of distillations, than if for preventing the cholic you would take all kinds of windy meats and drinks, and for preventing of the stone you would take all kinds of meats and drinks that would breed gravel in the kidneys; and then when you were forced to avoid much wind out of your stomach, and much gravel in your urine, that you should attribute the thanks thereof to such nourishments as bred these within you, that behoved

* His majesty most signally fails in carrying out this argument, in which he attempts to prove the *deceivable appearance of reason.* His late preceding description of the *meteors* will hardly persuade any smoker that the saliva which he ejects is no more than stinking smoke, which being "imprisoned in the cold and moist brains, is, by their cold and wet faculty, turned and cast forth again in watery distillations."

you either to be expelled by the force of nature, or you to have burst at the broadside, as the proverb is.

As for the other two reasons founded upon experience—the first of which is, that the whole people would not have taken so general a good liking thereof, if they had not by experience found it very sovereign and good for them—for answer thereunto, how easily the minds of all people with which God hath replenished the earth may be drawn by the foolish affectation of any novelty, I leave it to the discreet judgment of any man that is reasonable.

Do we not daily see that a man can no sooner bring over from beyond the seas any new form of apparel, but that he cannot be thought a man of spirit that would not presently imitate the same, and so from hand to hand it spreads till it is practised by all—not for any commodity that is in it, but because it is come to be the fashion? For such is the force of that natural self-love in every one of us, and such is the corruption of envy bred in the breast of every one, as we cannot be content unless we imitate every thing that our fellows do, and so prove ourselves capable of every thing whereof they are capable, *like apes counterfeiting the manners of others to their*

own destruction. For let one or two of the greatest masters of mathematics, in any of the two famous universities, but constantly affirm, any clear day, that they see some strange apparition in the skies, they will, I warrant you, be seconded by the greatest part of the students in that profession, so loath will they be to be thought inferior to their fellows, either in depth of knowledge or sharpness of sight; and therefore the general good liking and embracing of this foolish custom doth but only proceed from that affectation of novelty and popular error, whereof I have already spoken. [How applicable is this reproof to the majority of persons in the present day.]

And the other argument drawn from a mistaken experience is but the more particular probation of this general, because it is alleged to be found true, by proof, that by the taking of Tobacco divers and very many do find themselves cured of divers diseases, as, on the other part, no man ever received harm through it. In this argument there is first a great mistaking, and next a monstrous absurdity; for is it not a very great mistake to take *non causam pro causa,* as they say in the Logics? Because peradventure when a sick man hath had his disease at the heat, he hath at that instant taken Tobacco, and afterwards his dis-

ease taking the natural course of declining, and consequently the patient of recovering his health,—oh! then the Tobacco, forsooth, was the worker of that miracle. Besides, that it is a thing well known by all physicians, that the apprehension and conceit of the patient hath, by wakening and uniting the vital spirits, and so strengthening nature, a great power and virtue to cure divers diseases. For an evident proof of mistaking in the like case, I pray what foolish, to wit silly wench, what old doting wife, or ignorant country clown, is not physician for the tooth ache, for the cholic, and divers such common diseases? Yea, will not every man you meet withal teach you a sundry cure for the same, and swear too that many, either himself or some of his nearest kinsmen and friends, were cured? and yet, I hope, no man is so foolish as to believe them. And all these toys do only proceed from the mistaking *causum pro causa*, as I have already said; and so if a man chance to recover out of any disease after he hath taken Tobacco, that must have the thanks of all; but, by the contrary, if a man smoke himself to death (as many have done), oh! then some other disease must bear the blame for that fault. So do old harlots thank their harlotry for their very livers, that custom being healthful (say they)

ad purgandos reres, but never have mind how many die of the Pox in the flower of their youth. And so do old drunkards think they prolong their days by their swine-like diet, but never remember how many die drunk in drink before they be half old.

And what greater absurdity can there be than to say that one cure shall serve for divers, nay, contrarious sorts of diseases? It is an undoubted ground among the physicians, that there is almost no sort, either of nourishment or of medicine, that hath not something in it disagreeable to some part of man's body; because, as I have already said, the nature of the temperature of every part is so different from another, that, according to the old proverb, that which is good for the head is evil for the neck and the shoulders. For even as a strong enemy that invades a town or fortress, although in his siege thereof he do belay and compass it round about, yet he makes his breach and entry at some one or few special parts thereof, which he hath tried and found to be weakest and least able to resist—so sickness doth make her particular assault upon such part or parts of our body as are weakest, and easiest to be overcome by that sort of disease which then doth assail us, although all the rest of the body by sympathy feels itself

to be, as it were, belaid and besieged by the affliction of that special part, the grief and smart thereof being, by the sense of feeling, dispersed through all the rest of the members; and therefore the skilful physician presses to such cures, to purge and strengthen that part which is afflicted, as are only fit for that kind of disease, and do best agree with the nature of that infirm part, which, being abused to a disease of another name, would prove as hurtful to the one as helpful to the other. Yea, not only will a skilful and wary physician be careful to use no cure but that which is fit for that sort of disease, but he will also consider all other circumstances, and make the remedy suitable thereunto; as the temperature of the clime where the patient is, the constitution of the planet, the time of the moon, the season of the year, the age and complexion of the patient, the present state of his body in strength or weakness; for one cure must not ever be used for the self same disease, but, according to the varying of any of the aforesaid circumstances, that sort of remedy must be used which is fittest for the same; where, by the contrary in this case, such is the miraculous omnipotency of our strong tasted Tobacco, as it cures all sorts of diseases (which never any drug could do before) in all persons

and at all times. It cures all kinds of distillations either in head or stomach (if you believe their axioms); although, in very deed, it do both corrupt the brain, and, by causing over quick digestion, fill the stomach full of crudities. It cures the gout in a fit; and, what is miraculous, in that very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies up into the head, the virtue thereof, as heavy, runs down to the little toe. It helps all sorts of agues—it makes a man sober that was drunk—it refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry, being taken when they go to bed—it makes one sleep soundly; and yet, being taken when a man is sleepy and drowsy, it will, as they say, awaken his brain, and quicken his understanding. As for curing of the Pox, it serves for that use among the Pocky Indian slaves. Here in England it is refined, and will not deign to cure here any other than cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. Oh! omnipotent power of Tobacco! And if it could, by the smoke thereof, chase out devils, as the smoke of Tobias' fish did (which I am sure could smell no stronger), it would serve for a precious relict, both for the superstitious priests and the insolent Puritans, to cast out devils withal.*

* This quaint satire is founded upon another, from the pen of Jonson, which we meet with in "Every Man in his Hu-

Admitting, then, and not confessing, that the use thereof were healthful for some sorts of diseases, should it be used for all sicknesses? Should it be used by all men? Should it be used at all times? Yea, should it be used by able, young, strong, healthful men? Medicine hath that virtue that it never leaves a man in

mour," first acted in 1598. "I have been in the Indies," he says, "(where this herb grows), when neither myself nor a dozen gentlemen more, of my knowledge, have received the taste of any other nutriment in the world, for the space of one and twenty weeks, but the fume of this simple only; therefore it cannot be but 'tis most divine. Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind, so it makes an antidote that, had you taken the most deadly poisonous plant in all Italy, it should expel it and clarify you with as much ease as I speak. And for your green wound, your Balsamum and your St. John's wort are all mere gulleries and trash to it, especially your Trinidado. Your Nicotian is good too. I could say I know of the virtue of it for the expulsion of rheums, raw humours, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind; but I profess myself no quacksalver. Only thus much: by Hercules, I do hold it, and will affirm it before any prince in Europe, to be the most sovereign and precious weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man."

The product of Trinidado was at this time much in request: one old cosmographer, no incompetent judge perhaps of this matter, tells us it abounds with the best kind of Tobacco, much celebrated formerly by the name of a PIPE OF TRINIDADO.—*Heylin's Cosmog.*, lib. iv., p. 114.

The Nicotian took its name from Mons. Nicot, the French introducer.

that state wherein it finds him. It makes a sick man whole, but a whole man sick; and as medicine helps nature, being taken at times of necessity, so, being ever and constantly used, it doth but weaken, weary, and wear nature. What speak I of medicine? Nay, let a man, every hour of the day, I say, but take as oft the best sorts of nourishments in meat and drink that can be devised, he shall, with the continual use thereof, weaken both his head and his stomach: all his members shall grow feeble, his spirits dull, and in the end, as a drowsy, lassie belly god, he shall evanish in a lethargy.

And from this weakness it proceeds that many in this kingdom have had such a continual use of taking this unsavory smoke, as now they are not able to forbear the same, no more than an old drunkard can abide to be long sober, without falling into an incurable weakness and evil constitution; for that continual custom hath made to them *habitum*, *alteram*, *naturam*, so to those that from their birth have been continually nourished upon poison and things venomous, wholesome meats are only poisonable.

Thus having, as I trust, sufficiently answered the most principal arguments that are used in defence of this vile custom, it rests only to

inform you what sins and vanities you commit in the filthy abuse thereof. First, Are you not guilty of sinful and shameful lust (for lust may be as well in any of the senses as in feeling), that although you be troubled with no disease, but in perfect health, yet can you neither be merry at an ordinary nor lascivious in the stews if you lack Tobacco to provoke your appetite to any of those sorts of recreations, lusting after it as the children of Israel did in the wilderness after quails? Secondly, It is, as you use, or rather abuse it, a branch of the sin of drunkenness, which is the root of all sins; for as the only delight that drunkards love any weak or sweet drink, so are not those (I mean the strong heat and fume) the only qualities that make Tobacco so delectable to all the lovers of it? And as no man loves strong heavy drinks the first day (because *nemo reparte fit turpissimus)*, but by custom is piece and piece allured; while, in the end, a drunkard will have as great a thirst to be drunk as a sober man to quench his thirst with a draught when he hath need of it; so is not this the true case of all the great takers of Tobacco, which therefore they themselves do attribute to a bewitching quality in it? Thirdly, Is it not the greatest sin of all, that you, the people of all sorts of this king-

dom, who are created and ordained by God to bestow both your persons and goods for the maintenance both of the honor and safety of your king and commonwealth, should disable yourself in both?—in your persons, having, by this continual vile custom, brought yourself to this shameful imbecility, that you are not able to ride or walk the journey of a Jew's Sabbath, but you must have a reeky coal brought you from the next poor house to kindle your Tobacco with; whereas he cannot be thought able for any service in the wars that cannot endure oftentimes the want of meat, drink, and sleep; much more then must he endure the want of Tobacco. In the time of the many glorious and victorious battles fought by this nation, there was no word of Tobacco; but now, if it were time of wars, and that you were to make some sudden cavalcade upon your enemies, if any of you should seek leisure to stay behind his fellows for taking of Tobacco, for my part I should never be sorry for any evil chance that might befall him.* To take a custom in any thing

* It was a practice with the king, while hunting, to pull up, if the pace became fast, and to refresh himself from a bottle of wine; and possibly the idea of a soldier staying behind in a charge to smoke a pipe, may have been suggested by this fact. Subsequent events have sufficiently proved the

that cannot be left again, is most hurtful to the people of any land. Mollities and delicacy were the rock and overthrow, first of the Persian, and next of the Roman empire; and this very custom of taking Tobacco (whereof our present purpose is) is even at this day accounted so effeminate among the Indians themselves, that, in the market, they will offer no price for a slave to be sold whom they find to be a great Tobacco taker.

Now how are you by this custom disabled in your goods, let the gentry of this land bear witness, some of whom bestowing £300, some £400 a year* upon this precious stink, which

fallacy of the king's forebodings. Our soldiers smoked hard in Flanders; and yet, in the final charge at Ramillies, they stayed not to light their pipes. In the more recent times of Wellington, they smoked as hard as in the days of Marlborough; and yet they drove before them, from the rock of Lisbon to the walls of Toulouse, the best troops, next to themselves, that ever gave fire either to Tobacco or gunpowder. The "Waterloo charge," as it is called,—a certain ready-formed loading for a pipe, is, at the present time, in great request with the Medallists, who burn it on every 18th of June, in commemoration of the smoking and fighting at Waterloo.

* This seems hardly credible, and Brand suggests that Scotch pounds are intended. A work published in 1615 states, that the greatest part of the Indian Tobacco sold in that year for ten times the value of paper, and the best of it weight for weight for the finest silver.—("An Advice how

I am sure might be bestowed upon many far better uses. I read, indeed, of a knavish courtier, who, for abusing the favour of the Emperor Alexander Severus, his master, by taking bribes to intercede for sundry persons in his master's ears (for whom he never once opened his mouth), was justly choked with smoke, with this doom, *Fumo pereat qui fumum vendidit;* but of so many smoke buyers as are at this present in this kingdom, I never read nor heard.

And for the vanity committed in this filthy custom, is it not both great vanity and uncleanness that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit, tossing of Tobacco pipes, and puffing of the smoke of Tobacco one at another, making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes and infect

to plant Tobacco in England.") And when we remember that a person had to provide pipes for visitors and guests, which must have extended his expenses greatly beyond what his own indulgence of the habit required, as dutiful subjects in the place of our ancestors, we feel it our bounden duty to acquiesce in the regal statement. The writer of "A Paper —of Tobacco," evidently of a contrary opinion, says, "His majesty must have heard of some inveterate smoker laying in a large stock for the benefit of himself and his heirs, and have erroneously concluded that it was only a twelvemonth's supply."

the air, when very often men who abhor it are at their repast? Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining chamber; and yet it makes a kitchen oftentimes in the inward parts of man, soiling and infecting them with an unctuous and oily kind of soot, as hath been found in some great Tobacco takers that after their deaths were opened.* And not only meat time, but no other time nor *action* is exempted from the public use of this uncivil

* There is a similar notice to this in "Every Man in his Humour." After extolling, in his own peculiar vein, the sanative virtues ascribed to the plant, which we have given at length in a previous note,—Cob, the water carrier, with about equal truth, relates some startling instances of its pernicious effects. "By Godme," says Cob, "I marle what pleasure or felicity they have in taking this roguish Tobacco! It's good for nothing but to choke a man, and fill him full of smoke and embers: there were four died out of one house last week with taking of it, and two more the bell went for yesternight; one of them, they say, will ne'er scape it; HE VOIDED A BUSHEL OF SOOT yesterday upward and downward. By the stocks, and there were no wiser men than I, I'd have it present whipping, man and woman, that should but deal with a Tobacco pipe. Why, it will stifle them all in the end, as many as use it. It's little better than ratsbane or rosaker." We may easily imagine that tales of this kind were not uncommon amongst the vulgar when Tobacco first came into use. Both the king and poet may probably allude to some recent story which was currently believed by the people; and the joke is not destitute of humour when we consider it in this light, and as suited to the character of Cob.

trick; for as the wives of Dieppe list to contest with this nation for good manners, their worst manners would, in all reason, be found at least not so dishonest as ours are in this point, the public use whereof, at all times and in all places, hath now so far prevailed, as divers men, very sound in judgment and complexion, have been at last forced to take it, although without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seem singular (like the two philosophers that were forced to duck themselves in rain water, and so became fools as well as the rest of the people), and partly to be as one that was content to eat garlick (which he did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it in the breath of his fellows. And is it not a great vanity that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with Tobacco? It is become, in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship; and he that will refuse to take a pipe of Tobacco among his fellows (though by his own election he would rather smell the savour of a sink) is accounted peevish and no good company, even as they do with tippling in the cold eastern countries. Yea, a mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant, than by giving him, out of her fair hand, a pipe of Tobacco.

[quite an oriental custom] But herein is not only a great vanity, and a great contempt of God's good gifts, that the sweetness of men's breath, being a good gift of God, should be wilfully corrupted by this stinking smoke, wherein I must confess it hath too strong a virtue; and so that which is an argument of nature, and can neither by any artifice be at the first acquired, nor, once lost, be recovered again, shall be falsely corrupted with an incurable stink, which vile quality is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the unwholesomeness thereof, as the venom of putrefaction is contrary to the virtue preservative.

Moreover, which is a great iniquity, and against all humanity, the husband shall not be ashamed to reduce thereto his delicate, wholesome, and clean complexioned wife, to that extremity, that either she must corrupt her sweet breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetual stinking torment.

Have you not reason, then, to be ashamed, and to forbear this filthy novelty, so basely grounded, so foolishly received, and so grossly mistaken in the right use thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming yourselves both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the marks and notes of

vanity upon you; by the custom thereof making yourselves to be wondered at by all foreign civil nations, and by all strangers that come among you to be scorned and contempted—a custom loathsome to the eye—hateful to the nose—harmful to the brain—dangerous to the lungs—and, in the black stinking fumes thereof, nearest resembling the horrid Stygian fumes of the pit that is bottomless.

FINIS.

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